

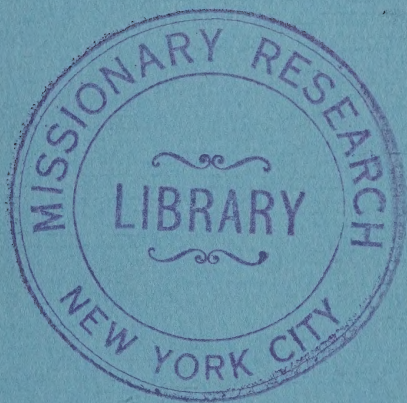
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# Fundamental Principles of International Policy

Statement by the  
HONORABLE CORDELL HULL  
Secretary of State  
July 16, 1937

Together with  
COMMENTS OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS





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UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1937

# Fundamental Principles of International Policy

PUBLICATION No. 1079

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# FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY



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## STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE JULY 16, 1937

I have been receiving from many sources inquiries and suggestions arising out of disturbed situations in various parts of the world.

Unquestionably there are in a number of regions tensions and strains which on their face involve only countries that are near neighbors but which in ultimate analysis are of inevitable concern to the whole world. Any situation in which armed hostilities are in progress or are threatened is a situation wherein rights and interests of all nations either are or may be seriously affected. There can be no serious hostilities anywhere in the world which will not one way or another affect interests or rights or obligations of this country. I therefore feel warranted in making—in fact, I feel it a duty to make—a statement of this Government's position in regard to international problems and situations with respect to which this country feels deep concern.

This country constantly and consistently advocates maintenance of peace. We advocate national and international self-restraint. We advocate abstinence by all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations. We advocate adjustment of problems in international relations by processes of peaceful negotiation and agreement. We advocate faithful observance of international agreements. Upholding the principle of the sanctity of treaties, we believe in modification of provisions of treaties, when need therefor arises, by orderly processes carried out in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and accommodation. We believe in respect by all nations for the rights of others and performance by all nations of established obligations. We stand for revitalizing and strengthening of international law. We advocate steps toward promotion of economic security and stability the world over. We advocate lowering or removing of excessive barriers in international trade. We seek effective equality of commercial opportunity and we urge upon all nations application of the principle of equality of treatment. We believe in limitation and reduction of armament. Realizing the necessity for maintaining armed forces adequate for national security, we are prepared to reduce or to increase our own armed forces in proportion to reductions or increases made by other countries. We avoid entering into alliances or entangling commitments but we believe in cooperative effort by peaceful and practicable means in support of the principles hereinbefore stated.

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## COMMENTS OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

### ALBANIA

#### *Message From the Albanian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister to Albania*

[Translation]

"I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that I received your note No. 18 of July 29, 1937, with which you were kind enough to communicate to me the statement which His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, made on July 16, 1937, with regard to international problems and situations.

"I thank you, Mr. Minister, for this communication and I have the honor to express to you the whole sympathy of the Royal Government to the noble and well-wishing aims emanating from the statement in question in favor of the understanding of peoples, of the maintenance of peace, of the increase of international solidarity, and of the betterment of the world's economic situation. The Albanian State, being completely inspired in its activities by pacific desires and aims, dedicating its entire struggle to the development and advancement of the nation, praises with joy the principles expressed by His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull, and wishes that aims of this kind may direct the activities of all the countries for the good of the world."

### ARGENTINA

#### *Memorandum From the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador to Argentina*

[Translation]

"The Argentine Government has learned with customary satisfaction the statements of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Cordell Hull, whose lofty mind has left such grateful remembrances in Buenos Aires, as has the illustrious President Roosevelt, and shares the wholesome ideas formulated in them.

"It permits itself to request his consideration of the proposed convention giving a universal application to the right of asylum which when properly regulated can prevent the inconveniences which it has contained until now, and whose moral significance, once practical

questions have been considered, is in singular accord with the attitude of noble humanitarianism which has so often characterized the United States.

"It is the understanding of the Argentine Chancellery that the tendency of the proposed convention implies an element of pacification in pursuance of the line of conduct which should be followed by the American countries."

## AUSTRALIA

*Statement by the Australian Minister for External Affairs Communicated to the American Consul at Sydney*

"I have the honour to refer to your letter no. 711/800 of 26th July, 1937, forwarding a copy of a statement made by the Honourable the Secretary of State on 16th July, and to inform you that I have read it with great interest. At the recent Imperial Conference its members placed on record the result of their deliberations on the subject of foreign affairs in the following statement:

"The representatives of the Governments of the British Commonwealth of Nations gathered in the conference, have in the course of their proceedings had an opportunity of exchanging views upon foreign affairs and the international situation as it affects their respective interests and responsibilities.

"While no attempt was made to formulate commitments, which in any event could not be made effective until approved and confirmed by the respective Parliaments, the representatives of the Governments concerned found themselves in close agreement upon a number of general propositions which they thought it desirable to set out in the present statement.

"They agreed that for each member of the Commonwealth the first objective is the preservation of peace. In their view the settlement of differences that may arise between nations and the adjustment of national needs should be sought by methods of cooperation, joint enquiry and conciliation. It is in such methods, and not in recourse to the use of force between nation and nation, that the surest guarantee will be found for the improvement of international relations and respect for mutual engagements.

"Holding these views and desiring to base their policies upon the aims and ideals of the League of Nations, they found themselves unanimous in declaring that their respective armaments will never be used for purposes of aggression or for any purpose inconsistent with the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Pact of Paris. At the same time, being impressed with the desirability of strengthening the influence of the League by the enlargement of its membership, they united in expressing the view that this object would be facilitated by the separation of the Covenant from the Treaties of Peace. Observing that in respect of certain regions in which a number of States have special interests, regional agreements of friendship and collaboration between individual members of the British Commonwealth and the other States so interested have been entered

upon or may be contemplated, they welcomed all such agreements in so far as they can be made to contribute to the cause of peace, and do not conflict with the Covenant of the League of Nations.

“They noted with interest the statement made on behalf of the Australian Delegation at the opening Plenary Meeting that Australia would greatly welcome a regional understanding and pact of non-aggression by the countries of the Pacific, and would be prepared to collaborate to that end with all the peoples of the Pacific region in a spirit of understanding and sympathy. They agreed that if such an arrangement could be made it would be a desirable contribution to the cause of peace and to the continued maintenance of friendly relations in the Pacific, and that it should be the subject of further consultation between Governments.

“They all desired earnestly to see as wide a measure of disarmament as could be obtained. At the same time they were agreed that the several Governments of which they are the representatives are bound to adopt such measures of defense as they may deem essential for their security, as well as for the fulfilment of such international obligations as they may respectively have assumed.

“Being convinced that the influence of each of them in the cause of peace was likely to be greatly enhanced by their common agreement to use that influence in the same direction, they declared their intention of continuing to consult and co-operate with one another in this vital interest and all other matters of common concern.

“The representatives of the several Governments concerned further had under review the possibility of reviving confidence and increasing the stability of economic and financial conditions in the world, a process which they considered essential to the prosperity of individual countries as well as to international peace. In order to assist in furthering this end, they declared themselves ready to co-operate with other nations in examining current difficulties, including trade barriers and other obstacles to the increase of international trade and the improvement of the general standard of living.

“Finally the Members of the Conference, while themselves firmly attached to the principles of democracy and to parliamentary forms of government, decided to register their view that differences of political creed should be no obstacle to friendly relations between Governments and countries, and that nothing would be more damaging to the hopes of international appeasement than the division, real or apparent, of the world into opposing groups.”

“The attitude of the British Commonwealth of Nations to the international situation would appear accordingly to correspond in all material respects to that of the United States.”

## AUSTRIA

### *Message From the Austrian Foreign Secretary to the American Chargé in Austria*

“I have studied with interest the statements made by Secretary of State Hull on the 16th instant with regard to the attitude of the United States towards international problems and have noted with

satisfaction that the efforts on the part of the United States based on the principles listed by the Secretary of State are serving the same goals that Austrian politicians have set for themselves from the very beginning, that is, the safety and consolidation of just peace in the world."

## BELGIUM

*Note From the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Commerce to the American Chargé in Belgium*

[Translation]

"In the course of a conversation which you had on July nineteenth last with Mr. van Langenhove, Secretary General of my Department, you requested him to communicate to me the statement made at Washington on July 16 by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, defining the principles on which the peace policy of the United States is based and the aims of this policy: peaceful settlement of disputes, observance of international engagements, decreasing of excessive obstacles to international trade, equality of treatment, limitation and reduction of armaments, and international cooperation apart from all alliances.

"The speeches of Belgian statesmen on many occasions bring out the perfect harmony existing in this respect between the peace policy of the United States and that of Belgium. I am happy to give you an assurance that His Majesty's Government can subscribe point by point to the declarations of Mr. Hull and that it is ready, as in the past, within the means at its disposal, to cooperate with the Government of the United States with a view to the attainment of the desired ends."

## BOLIVIA

*Memorandum Handed by the Bolivian Foreign Minister to the American Chargé in Bolivia*

[Translation]

"The Bolivian Foreign Office acknowledges the receipt of the memorandum of the Legation of the United States attached to which it has been pleased to send a copy of the declaration of the Secretary of State of its country, given to the press the sixteenth of July past, establishing lofty pacifist principles.

"The Government and the Foreign Office of Bolivia loyally and sincerely share the noble anxiety which inspired the declaration of the Secretary of State of the United States and fully adhere to the support given by your Government to the principles established in the declaration under reference, many of which constitute an essential part of the conventions and treaties celebrated in the Conference of Buenos Aires for the Maintenance of Peace.

"Bolivia, whose pacifist tradition has always been inspired by the respect for right and the most elevated thought of justice, adapting its conduct to a loyal respect of international laws, has considered with extreme satisfaction each and all of the principles enunciated by the illustrious Secretary of State of the United States, and in view of the fact that there is still pending the solution of the Chaco conflict, which constitutes a permanent menace for the peace of America, considers that the declarations of the Most Excellent Mr. Hull will have a most important influence on this specific problem as well as on the pacifist ideal of the world.

"The Government of Bolivia clearly expresses its will to cooperate loyally with the stand in favor of the principles enunciated."

## BRAZIL

### *Statement by the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs*

"The Ministry for Foreign Affairs was officially informed concerning the declaration of the principles which orientate the foreign policy of the United States made on the 16th of July by the Secretary of State Mr. Cordell Hull. The statement of the Secretary of State having been brought to the attention of the President of the Republic by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the latter received instructions from the President to make public that the Brazilian Government, entirely sharing the point of view of the Government of the United States concerning the world international political situation, fully agrees with those declarations and gives complete support to the principles formulated therein, which have already been warmly advocated in the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace and at other international political assemblies and which it will do everything possible to put into practice by the most convenient methods at every opportunity which arises."

## BULGARIA

### *Message From the Bulgarian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé in Bulgaria*

"The Minister of Foreign Affairs expresses the concurrence of the Bulgarian Government in the principles set forth in the Secretary's statement. While Bulgarian energies are absorbed in the task of internal rehabilitation it is realized that permanent improvement depends on the recovery of the world at large and the Bulgarian Government views with deep concern any disturbance which may affect the peace and imperil the economic security for which the world is striving and for the attainment of which America is playing the leading part.

"Bulgaria feels most acutely the injustices wrought by the peace treaties but far from seeking to upset them through force of arms, it retains faith in the tenets of the League of Nations and hopes that the spirit of cooperation will prevail over national selfishness and provide a remedy for the evils which afflict Europe."

## CANADA

*Note From the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs to the American Minister to Canada*

"I have the honour to refer to our recent conversation in which you drew my attention to the statement made by the Secretary of State of the United States on July 16<sup>th</sup> setting forth the principles which represent his Government's position in the conduct of international relations at this juncture.

"I have read Mr. Hull's statement with deep interest. All who are charged with the responsibility of government now find their task becoming daily more and more preoccupied with strains and tensions in the international field that threaten to undo all their efforts in the national sphere. Events throughout the world are forcing a continual fresh examination of the principles upon which the relations between States and peoples can best proceed, and it has long since become plain that unless the States of the world can reach some general agreement upon such principles, catastrophe is hardly to be avoided.

"I have no hesitation in saying that the principles set forth by Mr. Hull will meet the strong support of the people of Canada. In the midst of a stormy, transitional era of human affairs, when so many systems and theories are in violent competition for universal and exclusive mastery, the statement, by its coolness and moderation, and by invoking once more the processes of reasoned discussion, of accommodation and of conciliation, reaffirms anew our faith in the method and temper by which we believe progress so far has been won. While standing for order and orderly processes it equally recognizes there may be imperative need for change. At this time there appears a widespread tendency to invoke force whether in the name of the principle of stability or in the name of the principle of change, and both extremes seem to forget that under present day conditions the processes of force themselves set loose a progression of events which go completely beyond calculation and control and can only stultify the worthy principles in whose name the violence has been ordained. At such a time this clear call, from such a source, for the processes of mutual reasoned discussion is of the highest importance. It appears especially noteworthy that the statement

lays emphasis upon the problems of readjustment, upon the task of studying immediately wherein all may try by agreement to modify the barriers and rigidities, both economic and political, which may be claimed to deny to peoples or nations equality of opportunity or treatment; for naturally it is by such wise anticipations that revolutionary and catastrophic events are to be forestalled.

"Within the measure of their capacity the Government of Canada remain ready and indeed anxious to explore all practicable means to implement or revitalize the principles which Mr. Hull has so opportunely restated, and they will always welcome any specific proposals for wide international cooperation that may be put forward on such a basis."

## CHILE

### *Statement by the Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé in Chile*

[Translation]

"I have had the pleasure of receiving the courteous communication of the 23rd instant, in which Your Excellency is good enough to transmit to me an important statement recently made to the press by H. E. the Secretary of State of the United States.

"In reply, I have to inform Your Excellency that I have read said statement with the greatest interest and that my Government sees in it a new manifestation of the high sentiments and purposes which the President of the United States and the Secretary of State made evident in the recent inter-American conference for the consolidation of peace held not long ago as a result of the happy initiative of H. E. Mr. Roosevelt.

"On that recent occasion my Government had the satisfaction of concurring with Your Excellency's Government and those of the other sister republics of America in signing new peace instruments which set forth 'that all wars or threats of war directly or indirectly affect all civilized peoples and endanger the great principles of liberty and justice which constitute the American ideal and standard of international policy'; that 'the direct or indirect intervention of any of the contracting parties, for any motive, in the domestic or foreign affairs of any of the parties is not admissible' and that 'anything which assures and facilitates the fulfillment of the treaties in force is an effective guaranty of international peace'.

"The authorized statements to which Your Excellency refers are inspired by the same principles and therefore will surely favor the firm ideals of peace and international justice to which we all happily adhere."

## CHINA

*Note From the Chinese Ambassador to the Secretary of State*

"Acting under instructions of my Government, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Statement, issued by you on July 16, 1937, setting forth the position of the American Government in regard to international problems and situations.

"In endorsing the principles enumerated in your Statement, the Minister for Foreign Affairs wishes me to say that China has always sought to settle international controversies by any of the pacific means known in international law and treaties, and her policy is therefore in full harmony with the views of the American Government as set forth in your Statement. As to the present issue with Japan, the position of my Government, as made clear in the Memorandum which I had the pleasure of presenting to you on July 16, 1937, remains the same."

## COLOMBIA

*"Aide-Mémoire" Handed by the Colombian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé in Colombia*

[Translation]

"In a conversation of August 4, 1937, the Minister of Foreign Relations, Dr. Turbay, said that he has read with the greatest interest the statement issued in Washington by the Secretary of State of the United States under date of July 16 last, which Mr. Dawson has been kind enough to communicate to him.

"Dr. Turbay recalled that the message presented to Congress on July the 20th by the President of Colombia, Dr. Alfonso López, in explaining the Colombian initiatives at the Inter-American Peace Conference of Buenos Aires, is pregnant with ideas concerning the necessity of maintaining peace on juridical and moral bases. These concepts show that the international policy of Colombia is based on postulates similar to those which the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, has expressed in his statement.

"Dr. Turbay said that the juridical coordination of the principles of peaceful international coexistence, based on respect for the sanctity of treaties freely agreed upon, is the cornerstone of the structure of inter-American solidarity which has been in the process of erection at the various Pan American Conferences within the aspiration which we see gradually achieved of providing permanent norms for the peaceful solution of conflicts between nations of this continent and of contributing in this way to the progress of international law in the world.

"The Minister of Foreign Relations expressed his deep satisfaction at the generous declarations which the Secretary of State of

the United States has made at a time of serious disturbances in the world and noted with pleasure that they concord with the ethical principles which guide the Government of Colombia in the conduct of its foreign relations.

"The Minister of Foreign Relations took advantage of the opportunity to inform Mr. Dawson that the Government of Colombia in pursuing the policy set forth has recommended to Congress the approval of the treaties and conventions adopted at the Inter-American Peace Conference of Buenos Aires and that it is disposed to cooperate with the other nations with a view to giving practical effect to the principles of law there established in favor of collective security and universal peace."

### COSTA RICA

#### *Note From the Costa Rican Secretary of State to the American Chargé in Costa Rica*

[Translation]

"I had the honor to receive in due course the courteous communication of Your Honor, dated July 23 last, with which you were kind enough to send me a copy of the declarations contained in a telegram of the same date, of the Most Excellent Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the great North American Union, so worthily represented by Your Honor.

"At the same time, Your Honor requested an early opportunity to consider and discuss personally the important and far-reaching telegraphic statement of the Most Excellent Mr. Hull.

"In the interview that I had the honor of holding with you in respect thereto on July 30, in my office, it was highly gratifying to me to express orally the profound satisfaction that the declarations of the Most Excellent Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, had inspired in me, both personally and as Secretary of State, and my wholly favorable judgment in regard to each and all of them. I promised you, in full compliance with your manifest wishes, a written reply in the name of my Government, as soon as I should have considered the matter with the President of the Republic and obtained his concrete instructions, constitutionally indispensable, owing to the great importance of the matter, in order that the actions of this Department might be considered as duly endorsed by the Executive.

"Having now obtained full instructions from the President of the Republic, and complying with them with great pleasure, I have the honor to address myself in the name of my Government, to the declarations of the Most Excellent Secretary of State, Cordell Hull:

"Presenting and summing up the proposals and suggestions that he has received from various sources, in view of the delicate situation

that various countries of the world confront, the Most Excellent Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, contemplates the state of tension and violence that, although it apparently involves only neighboring and near countries, is shown in the final analysis to extend to the whole world, since any regional situation that implies armed hostilities, or threats of such hostilities, is a situation of such nature that the rights and interests of all nations are or may be seriously affected. Serious hostilities cannot exist in any part of the world without affecting in some manner the interests, obligations, and rights of the United States. By reason of all this, the Most Excellent Mr. Hull feels himself warranted in making, and considers himself duty bound to make known the attitude of his Government in regard to the international problems and conditions over which the United States feels deep concern. And occupying a superior plane in the contemplation and the envisioning of the highest interests of humanity, the Most Excellent Mr. Hull advocates the maintenance of peace; national and international self-restraint for each of the nations; abstinence by all nations from the use of force in the pursuit of their policy, and from intervention in the internal affairs of other nations; adjustment of problems in international relations by process of peaceful negotiation and agreement; faithful observance of international agreements; maintenance of the principle of the sanctity of treaties, and their modification, when necessity arises, by orderly process brought to happy conclusion through full accommodation and mutual helpfulness; respect by all nations for the rights of others and fulfillment by all of them of established obligations; revitalizing and strengthening of international law; lowering or removal of excessive barriers in international trade; effective equality of commercial opportunity, and application of the principle of equality of treatment; limitation and reduction of armaments; international cooperation by peaceful and practicable means in support of all the principles enunciated.

"The explicit, frank, and lofty declarations of the Most Excellent Mr. Hull, transmitted to all the Latin nations of the American Continent, constitute a new and serious invitation from the Government of the United States of America for the practical adoption of all the means that, in the science of contemporary international law, are necessary to prevent armed conflicts, to curb the use of force, and to preserve balance, harmony, and the reconciliation of interests in the relationship of the nations.

"In the early part of the last century, when the greatness and authority that, in a prodigious miracle of history, the United States has achieved, began to shape themselves and make themselves felt through definite positions taken in defense of the rights of America in the international politics of the Old World, the illustrious Minister

for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, George Canning, uttered his famous saying, recently recalled to the memory of America by the thinker Nicholas Murray Butler, that the New World had been created to restore the balance of the Old World. In the light of history, in a century and a half, these words have assumed a prophetic significance, in view of the force of the thought, of the will, and of the action that have developed American international law, impelled mainly in its beginnings and its evolution by the highest intellects and the strongest hearts that have directed and guided the destinies of the United States in the course of its international relations with the other nations of this continent and with the powers of the Old World.

“John Quincy Adams, in the memorable time of President Monroe, was the precursor of the New American International Law; and since, there have succeeded him as outstanding influences, by reason of the force of their intellects and of the steely power of their will, Henry Clay, James G. Blaine, and Elihu Root, who have been the true apostles of the basic principles of the relationship of the American nations. And in the present century of world unbalance have arisen for the good of the peoples of America and for the balancing of the Old World, the illustrious President of the United States, the Most Excellent Franklin D. Roosevelt, and his no less illustrious Secretary of State, the Most Excellent Cordell Hull, who, confronted by the distinct aspect of current events, initiate a new international policy, consecrated by the denomination of ‘good neighbor’ policy; and are prosecuting energetically the work of conciliation, of peace and harmony, proclaiming the ideal of American interdependence, laying down the principles for its direction, and indicating the means, and bringing about the opportunities, for its realization.

“Following the Seventh International Conference of American States, held at Montevideo in December 1933, for the consecration of the new American agreements and the confirmation of the ‘good neighbor’ policy, at which the spirit of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull made itself so felt, there took place last year at Buenos Aires the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, convoked in his communication of January 30, 1936, by the Most Excellent President Roosevelt, and seconded by the Most Excellent Secretary Hull. Both American statesmen gave the conference prestige and strength by their presence and vitality by the force of their thought and their word, contributing effectively to the formation and approval of the international juridical bodies at that time agreed to by all the American nations, for the maintenance, guaranteeing, and reestablishment of peace; to coordinate, amplify,

and assure the fulfillment of existing treaties; to establish the basic principles of nonintervention and of the rights of small nations. This outstanding labor of the present Government of the United States has been of positive efficacy as an element of moral control for the harmonious relationship of the nations of America, and an edifying example for the nations of the Old World.

"The recent declarations of the Most Excellent Secretary of State Hull constitute another strong impulsion given with the same high aims to the buttressing of the international principles proclaimed and accepted at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace.

"All these principles are accepted with sentiments of the most profound satisfaction by my Government, for the ideological forces with which they are invested, and as rules of intercourse for an international relationship of peace, of harmony, and of compenetration of interests between the nations, as well as for the support that they command before the world through being proclaimed by a nation like the United States, respected, and worthy of respect, for the component elements forming the whole of its institutions and for its effective power and its greatness in the world concert. If acceptance and due regard for these international principles are the best guaranty of a harmonious, peaceful, and just relationship between the great powers of the world, they must be so with more force as the sole stay of the small nations which count for the integrity of all their attributes on the effective reign of Right, on the real rule of Justice, and on the empery of Equality among all nations.

"The state of tension and of violence existing in a certain number of nations, which the Most Excellent Secretary Hull has so fittingly set forth as cause of deep concern to his Government, as well as the commercial conflict that likewise prevails as a dominant condition in an important part of the nations, indeed, all that which is to be looked upon in these times as a deviation of humanity in the course of its improvement and progress, appear to confirm in our day the theory of cyclical reactions in humanity during its historical process, which turn it periodically, by centrifugal force, counteragent of egoism, toward the conditions of the civilization and culture of its ancestral origins. But under the same theoretical law, these reactions have, necessarily and fortunately, their return to normality, through the propelling action of the centripetal force of the noble and altruistic sentiments of mankind, which conduce to fellowship, to harmony, to peace, through the channels worn by civilization and culture in the course of history. And in the present historical moment of the world the state of reaction that His Excellency Mr. Hull sets forth in his statement, affecting the rights, the obligations,

and the interests of all nations, has encountered its strong counter-movement with its altruistic and humanitarian effort toward peace, fellowship, and harmony, in the moral and material force of the United States, channeled by the vigorous and wise mentality of the two great statesmen who control their country's destinies in its international life, the Most Excellent President Roosevelt and the Most Excellent Secretary of State Cordell Hull. And my Government considers that it is the fundamental duty of Costa Rica, as an integral part of the American Continent and as a member of the community of nations, to lend its frank and decided cooperation to this powerful initiating force which emanates from the United States, and to embrace unreservedly the principles that constitute its ideologic fundamentals and its practical measures for realization and fulfillment.

"In the foregoing terms I have now answered Your Honor's courteous note of July 23 last, as well as that relating to the same matter of August 5."

## CUBA

### *Declaration by the Cuban Secretary of State*

[Translation]

"In view of the statement given to the press of his country by the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Cordell Hull, on July 16 of this year, with regard to evidences of world disturbance and the need for conserving peace, the Government of Cuba, in full accord with that statement, believes the time has come for it to make public its feeling of solidarity therewith, and does so through me.

"As a small country, but jealous of its dignity and of its sovereignty, Cuba has heard the words, full of a just and human sentiment, of Secretary Hull, with intense sympathy, especially those which affirm that the United States advocates 'abstinence by all nations from the use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations,' as well as those in which it pledges itself to avoid alliances or entangling commitments, but on the other hand, to show a tendency toward cooperative efforts by peaceful and practicable means in support of the principles on which is based this declaration before the world; and those (words) which advocate the processes of peaceful negotiation, the faithful observance of international agreements, the spirit of mutual helpfulness and accommodation, the upholding of the principle of the sanctity of treaties, the respect of all nations of the rights of others,

the revitalizing and strengthening of international law, the establishment of measures which will tend to promote economic security and stability the world over; and (those remarks advocating) the lowering or removing of excessive barriers to the commerce between nations, equality of treatment between nations, and the equitable adjustment of armaments among nations, without losing sight of the need for maintaining armed forces adequate for national security."

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

*Statement by the Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé in Czechoslovakia*

[Translation]

"Under existing circumstances, the declarations of Mr. Hull, Secretary of State, assume an extraordinary importance, and may be greeted only with satisfaction, since they help to strengthen democratic impulses in international relations. They are received by Czechoslovak foreign policy with satisfaction all the more sincere inasmuch as Czechoslovakia has observed from the beginning the principles contained in these declarations which make a point of settling conflicts of international concern by pacific understanding and settlement or indeed to emphasize the sacred character of existing treaties and the impossibility of modifying them other than by reciprocal understanding.

"It also does not cease to declare the value of the principle for economic understanding among nations to lower or suppress excessive tariff barriers.

"I have no doubt that the good faith manifested by the United States to reduce or to increase their own armed force in accordance with the action taken by other states will be received with understanding by all those who have at heart a desire for collaboration by pacific means regarding which the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, has so well explained the importance."

## DENMARK

*Communication From the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister to Denmark*

"The Danish Government share the view that hostilities in any part of the world exercise their influence everywhere.

"We join in the desire for the preservation of peace expressed by Secretary of State Cordell Hull; it is also our desire that all states will refrain from the use of power against others and desist from

interference in the internal affairs of other states. We share the hope for the strengthening of international law and for the recovery of economic stability all over the world just as we adhere to the desire for a limitation and reduction of armaments. We express the hope that the participation of the United States of America in the efforts to carry these ideas into practice will lead to the desired end."

## DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

*Statement Handed by the Dominican Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé in the Dominican Republic*

[Translation]

"The Dominican Government, under the inspiration and direction of President Trujillo Molina, illustrious statesman who has given singular demonstration of his love for the cause of justice and international order, has not weakened nor will it weaken at any time its cooperation to as many efforts as are realized, not only on the American Continent but in any part of the world, in favor of the maintenance and the consolidation of peace, whose benefits extend to all people and whose conservation must be, as a consequence, a common ideal of all nations. A threat against peace, no matter in what continent or what country it is produced, necessarily has universal repercussions, and all governments, even the least directly affected by such an act, are obligated to condemn it as the violation of a principle of international ethics according to which the differences and conflicts which arise between the nations must be resolved in accordance with pacific procedure and the friendly formulas that right and morality place within the reach of all states.

"The Dominican Government identifies itself with the declarations made on the sixteenth of last July by the Secretary of State of the United States of America, His Excellency Cordell Hull, which are in essence a ratification of the ideas of mutual respect and of sincere pacific collaboration which inspired the recent Conference at Buenos Aires, and is pleased to proclaim, in view of the conflicts that agitate other continents and place in danger the tranquillity of the world, its decided and loyal adherence to the cause of peace, to the noble postulates of justice and of law, to the principle of nonintervention by any country in the internal or external affairs of another, and of the sanctity of international pacts whose reform should not be effected except by absolute submission to legal norms when necessity thus requires it, or when their provisions reflect upon the dignity or the sovereignty of any state, or which may be opposed in practice to the reassuring realities of mutual respect and solidarity of nations."

## ECUADOR

*Note From the Ecuadoran Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister to Ecuador*

[Translation]

"Your Excellency has been good enough, acting under express instructions of your Government, to inform me of the important statement which the Secretary of State of the United States of America, the Honorable Cordell Hull, has made with respect to the international political situation, disturbed in various parts of the world.

"At the same time, Your Excellency has informed me of the desire to know the opinion of the Government of Ecuador and particularly of this Foreign Office with regard to the ideas of the Honorable the American Secretary of State and with respect to the principles by which Ecuadoran foreign policy is governed and its desires and aspirations along these ideas.

"When I was in charge of the Foreign Office in 1932 I made the following observations in the report which I submitted to the Nation:

"One of the facts emphasized by the great conflict which bathed the world in blood during the years 1914 to 1918, was the unity of interests of all the civilized people of the earth, the interdependence of nations and the impossibility of a state's eluding the consequences which a great political disturbance causes among the others.

"Regardless how much a country may be developed in all the endeavors of civilization, however great may be its sources of wealth, the variety of its products and the possibilities of independent life, it shall always have multiple points of contact with other peoples and in its economic, if not in its political life it shall depend upon others and shall have many needs of them. Moreover, the larger and more civilized a nation may be, the greater are the ties with which it is bound to the others, and the more numerous the common problems and the more complex its relations.

"The disturbance of international peace in any place whatsoever of the world threatens the peace of the whole world. Evolution in the social and political conditions of a people is reflected in those which are united to it by whatever bond, and the prosperity or the economic difficulties of one are soon felt also in the others.

"There are many confused questions which are agitating distant parts of the world and which can be the forerunners of new tragedies which may have an enormous repercussion."

"These same ideas have just been masterly expounded by the Honorable Mr. Hull. It is indubitable that disturbances and tensions which seemingly affect only neighboring countries must interest the entire world, since from that situation there can come the spark which later may be converted into a conflagration threatening the peace of many peoples and influencing in one way or another their policy and their economy.

"Therefore, the nations, large or small, cannot ignore the international problems of other countries, and less can they be indifferent when problems which can easily be converted into conflicts arise in their own continent.

"Ecuador, essentially a peaceable country and respectful of law, cannot but applaud with enthusiasm the important statements of the Honorable the Secretary of State of the United States.

"Ecuador believes that the maintenance of peace is indispensable so that civilization shall not retrograde. Ecuador maintains that only the enforcement of justice in the relations between peoples, only equality among nations and respect for their independence, whether they are powerful or weak, can remove from the world the terrible menace of war.

"Ecuador proclaims that the only means of solving the international problems must be the application of law and that the procedure must always be sought in friendly negotiations and in pacific agreements. Therefore, it rejects the use of force as an instrument of international policy; it disavows any territorial acquisitions, any expansion or advantage obtained through violence, and denies any juridical effect of sovereignty through the occupation of territories under dispute.

"The Ecuadoran Nation declares that it considers it a duty to respect the political, social, and economic organization of other nations, and denies the right that any state may desire to attribute to itself to intervene in the constitutional structure of another, in its internal problems or in its domestic conflicts. But it believes that friendly collaboration and cooperation for mutual progress must be encouraged by all means; and it is entirely in accord in this connection with the policy enunciated by the eminent statesman Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who in reiterated statements removed old fears and who has contributed so much to strengthen the relations between the Ibero-American republics and the United States.

"Ecuador makes public its unqualified respect for international treaties and agreements upon the sincere fulfillment of which it believes depends in great part the consolidation of peace.

"The Ecuadoran Government considers the encouragement of commercial interchange as a most efficacious means of strengthening the friendly relations between peoples; and for that purpose it believes in the expediency of suppressing or diminishing the barriers to free importation and exportation of products, aspiring for effective equality of treatment, for the extension (*multiplicación*) of agreements which facilitate trade and serve as a stimulus for the development of the wealth and prosperity of each country.

"These are, Mr. Minister, and have always been the principal postulates of Ecuadoran foreign policy. Anything which may contribute to the maintenance of peace, to these principles' taking root in the consciences of peoples, to the proscription of injustice, violence, disorder, and anarchy, will find enthusiastic reception in Ecuador.

"I reiterate, therefore, my applause of the luminous statements of the Honorable the American Secretary of State and I make fervent wishes that such a wise policy may always obtain in our continent and in the entire world."

## EGYPT

### *Memorandum of Conversation Between the Egyptian Foreign Minister and the American Minister to Egypt*

"Egypt approves heartily of the principles set forth in the statement and while the Egyptian Government is willing and anxious to do whatever it can toward keeping alive and making effective these principles it realizes that small countries such as Egypt can do little towards promoting world peace, a matter which Egypt feels to be within the control of the large powers alone.

"The Foreign Minister stated that he was particularly pleased that the United States, a country that could easily refuse to interest itself in the troubles of the rest of the world, was taking this initiative in an effort to maintain world peace. He said that he considered the Secretary's statement a continuation of the policy enumerated in the Kellogg Pact and that Egypt because of its geographical position is particularly interested in all such efforts to prevent war.

"The Foreign Minister said that his reply was to be considered as approval of the statement as a whole."

## EL SALVADOR

### *Note From the Salvadoran Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister to El Salvador*

[Translation]

"I desire to thank Your Excellency in a special manner for your courtesy in sending me the declarations published by His Excellency the Secretary of State of the United States, relative to the questions and suggestions he declared recently about various aspects of the problem of peace.

"I have read those declarations with the attention that they merit and for their importance and the nobility of their teaching and for the idealistic purpose that animates them; it pleases me to observe

that they contain theses of the greatest interest for the work of peace that the illustrious Government which is presided over by His Excellency President Roosevelt has proposed as a standard.

"It gives me great satisfaction to confirm that the declarations themselves happily coincide in spirit with the policy of the Government of General Martinez, who always has been and still is disposed to lend his friendly aid to the extent of his ability toward international peace."

## ESTONIA

### *Statement From the Estonian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister to Estonia*

"The Minister for Foreign Affairs expresses his great satisfaction over the statement which the Secretary of State, the Honorable Cordell Hull made to the press on July 16. He believes that the points enunciated in the statement are in entire accord with the principles governing the aspirations of Estonia in the field of her foreign politics and he wholeheartedly welcomes the spirit in which the statement was made. In the opinion of the Estonian Government a considerable success would be achieved if all countries would unreservedly recognize and apply these principles.

"As a faithful member of the League of Nations, Estonia has given her fullest support to all endeavors aiming at the realization of the ideals so ably expressed in the statement of the Secretary of State, and she is prepared to participate in any such action also in the future. There can be no doubt that maintenance of peace and promotion of economic security and stability can be achieved only through a close and sincere international collaboration.

"Besides her efforts in the framework of the League of Nations, Estonia has consistently shown her pacific aspirations in her foreign policy. She endeavors to establish the most friendly relations with all countries with whom she has the opportunity to collaborate."

## FINLAND

### *Statement by the Finnish Minister for Foreign Affairs Communicated to the American Minister to Finland*

"Faithful to the traditions of the Republic, the Finnish Government declare themselves desirous to give their continuous support to the noble ideals so eminently interpreted by Mr. Cordell Hull on the 16th July last. By its acceptance of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Kellogg-Briand pact, the convention of Oslo and other similar arrangements, as well as by the active part the country has

taken in international collaboration in general and specially in the co-operation of the Scandinavian States, Finland has already shown in many instances its willingness to support activities and aspirations of this kind.

"General international development has unquestionably led to such a state of things, that armed conflicts or even an impendent threat thereof affect the peace-interests of all nations. The Finnish Government, therefore, consider it also very important that all countries, which value the safeguarding of the peaceful achievements of mankind as a condition and a guarantee for human progress, should do their utmost to preserve international peace. One such condition is, as stated in Mr. Cordell Hull's statement, self-restraint as well in national as in international matters and, likewise, in the settlement of unsolved international questions through peaceful discussion and compromise.

"The peaceful development of international relations require also international law to be revitalized and to be applied more consequently in practice. In this regard, the Finnish Government wish to refer to the fact that they have, at the League of Nations, given their support without exception to the proposals aiming at the improving of the internal structure of this international organization and at the strengthening of its external influence in the stabilization of peace and at the furthering of general progress.

"The Finnish Government also greet with great satisfaction the principle of improving the economic situation of the world and of realizing the liberty of international trade.

"The Finnish Government recognize the want for restricting armaments, agreeing however with the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, regarding the necessity of maintaining sufficient armed forces as a guarantee for national security. The attitude of each nation towards armaments must naturally decisively depend upon whether other nations and especially those which may endanger the inviolability of its own territory, increase or decrease their armaments.

"Commitments which are liable to exerce (exercise) a disturbing influence upon international relations ought to be avoided, and at the same time, peace-promoting collaboration of the nations of the world should be maintained and reinforced as well at the League of Nations as outside that organ.

"In thus expressing their opinion of the above-mentioned statement of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Cordell Hull, the Finnish Government feel the necessity to emphasize, specially as regards their own foreign policy—their desire to maintain and to further to their best ability the most cordial relations with all nations.

"Highly approving of the principles thus stated by Mr. Cordell Hull, the Finnish Government express their earnest hope that the endeavours to realize these principles would result in the gaining of these aims."

## FRANCE

### *Note From the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador to France*

[Translation]

"In the course of the cordial and frank conversations which I have had the pleasure to have with you, you have been kind enough to communicate to me the declarations which the Secretary of State of the United States of America made to the press on the sixteenth of July last, expressing the views of the Federal Government with regard to the world situation and the problems which preoccupy all nations.

"I was happy to be able to note once more the likeness of the feelings which present circumstances inspire in the Governments of our two countries.

"Today, more than ever before, the need is evident for solidarity between all the nations of the world and vigilant attention to every situation which might lead to a resort to force. In counseling moderation in the realm of international affairs and national affairs; in advising nations not to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations; in recommending the settlement of differences by negotiations and peaceful agreements; in insisting that international obligations should be faithfully observed and carried out in a spirit of justice, mutual helpfulness, and reconciliation, Mr. Cordell Hull has stressed those wholesome methods which should assure the maintenance of peace.

"The restoration of economic stability in the world; the reestablishment of active international trade as rapidly as the individual situation of each country permits, the expansion of markets are the aims toward the achievement of which the French Government is concentrating its efforts.

"It also desires to see a lightening of the burdens which armaments impose so heavily on the majority of nations and it hopes for the realization, in security and justice, of conditions favorable to a limitation and reduction of these armaments.

"The peaceful collaboration of all nations is, indeed, the objective toward which the French Government is striving, and it desires by its international activity and that of the nations with which it is associated to bring the largest contribution possible to this supreme achievement.

"This will, I trust, my dear Ambassador, indicate to you with what sympathy the sentiments expressed by your distinguished Secretary of State have been received in France, and what a genuine pleasure it is to me to ask you to transmit to him my cordial and sincere appreciation."

### GERMANY

#### *Memorandum of Statement of the German State Secretary to the American Embassy in Berlin*

"The Reich Government has taken note of the statement of Secretary of State Hull with due interest. Its basic principle is as is generally known directed toward the regulation of international relations by pacific agreement and hence coincides with the ideas developed by the Secretary of State."

### GREAT BRITAIN

#### *Message From the British Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador to Great Britain*

"I have read with deep interest Mr. Hull's statement on foreign policy of the 16th July, the text of which was communicated to me by the United States Ambassador. I cordially welcome and am in full agreement with the expression of opinion contained therein on international problems and situations both in the political and economic field. Mr. Hull's views on the ever increasing need for the preservation of peace, the vital importance of international co-operation in every sphere, and the methods which are recommended for obtaining these objectives are shared in common by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom."

### GREECE

#### *Memorandum From the Greek Prime Minister to the American Chargé in Greece*

[Translation]

"The Chief of the Greek Government, with the deepest interest, has taken note of the statement made by the Secretary of State of the United States of America on July sixteenth last in favor of the maintenance of peace and the improvement of the world situation through military and economic disarmament.

"Mr. Metaxas has observed that the principles set forth in the statement of the Secretary of State agree in general with the essentially pacific policy pursued by Greece.

"As already stated to Mr. MacVeagh, the American Minister at Athens, the Chief of the Greek Government wishes to elucidate this policy with regard to one of the points covered by Mr. Hull's statement, that is, the point referring to the modification of treaties.

"In fact, Mr. Metaxas should point out that the territorial status in the Balkans, as established by the treaties of peace, is definitive and unalterable, as it was proclaimed by the Balkan Pact which has assured to Greece and to the other powers of the Balkan Entente the mutual guaranty of their frontiers in the Balkans."

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*"Aide-Mémoire" From the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé in Greece*

[Translation]

"By an *aide-mémoire* dated August 16, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs had the honor to make known to the Legation of the United States of America the reply of the Chief of the Government to the declarations of the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has the honor to send herewith to the Legation of the United States of America a supplementary *aide-mémoire* containing the point of view of the Greek Government on economic disarmament, with the request that the Legation be kind enough to transmit it to the Government of the United States."

[Enclosure]

"'AIDE-MÉMOIRE'

"Greece sincerely appreciates all efforts which are or may be made in the international domain, with a view to the strengthening of economic stability and security in the world by means of a gradual return to freedom of trade.

"The more by reason of its economic structure, Greece has always felt the need of such liberty, and its interests were the first to be injured by the introduction of restrictive systems in the different countries. Consequently, it is only as a means of defense that, in spite of itself, Greece was forced in its turn to follow this path which, in its view, should constitute only a transitory situation. Thus it can but approve the efforts which are made to escape gradually.

"However, the Greek Government does not envisage this possibility except within the framework of an international movement tending to the reestablishment of a free play of economic factors as a whole. Thus, if one wishes to arrive at lasting practical results in the domain of world economy, it would not be possible, in its view,

to consider solely the free exchange of the results of production, that is to say, of merchandise, and neglect the factors of production, such as labor and capital. It is in the free play of a combination of all these factors together that the Royal Government sees the means of overcoming the economic difficulties which now weigh upon international life.

"Thus it would be ready to collaborate, in this sense, in a collective effort aiming to create the necessary conditions for the reestablishment of a normal economic situation in the world."

## GUATEMALA

### *Note From the Guatemalan Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister to Guatemala*

[Translation]

"I have had the honor to receive the kind note of Your Excellency No. 67 of July 23, in which you sent me a copy of the declaration given to the press on the sixteenth by His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, in which is amply and concretely defined the attitude of the Government of the United States vis-à-vis the disturbances existing in international relations in various parts of the world.

"Your Excellency was so kind as to add that you have instructions to inform me that you would be very glad to forward to Washington the comment relative to the principles established in the declaration or such information as I might be able to give you relative to the attitude of the Government of Guatemala in maintaining and making effective such principles. Your Excellency informs me that His Excellency Mr. Hull requests you to point out to me the expression of his belief that my Government and I fully share in the support given by the Government of the United States to the principles set forth in the statement, many of which indeed form an essential portion of the agreements reached at the Conference of Buenos Aires for the Maintenance of Peace and all of which are consonant with the treaties and resolutions there adopted. Your Excellency finally adds that His Excellency the Secretary of State believes it is singularly fitting at this critical time that as many nations of the world as possible make known publicly their support of these principles of international conduct and policy, and that he would therefore welcome such action as my Government may find appropriate in making known its effective support of them.

"In answer I can only inform Your Excellency that the Government of Guatemala has learned with the greatest pleasure of the declaration of His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull because in it is found the most perfect definition of the international politics which

the Government of Guatemala has adopted and followed as an invariable and rigid standard of conduct in its relations with all of the countries of the world. The President of Guatemala in his annual messages to the Legislative Assembly and on other occasions which have presented themselves has declared emphatically that the Government of Guatemala, to the end of intensifying in every way possible the cordiality and the good understanding with other nations, does not overlook the means of adjusting itself to the consecrated doctrines of international law and for that it has held itself strictly apart from the internal affairs of other States, above all with respect to contiguous nations, with which it cultivates warm friendship.

"The Government of Guatemala, over which General Ubico presides, considers that the important declaration which His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull has given to the press of the United States summarizes in concrete and comprehensive form the standards adopted by the American Government looking to the consolidation of the peace of America and for saving the peace of the world; and it believes as well that the declaration constitutes a Creed which contains the fundamental bases of an international policy of healthy and prudent equanimity and that to observe the standards adopted would result in a great betterment in the unstable conditions which unfortunately endanger the cordiality and good understanding among the nations engaged in the contention of extensive economic, political and social interests.

"Since Your Excellency has been kind enough to communicate to me the desire of His Excellency the Secretary of State that the largest number possible of nations make known publicly their attitude respecting the principles proclaimed by him I will be pleased to give to the press of Guatemala the kind note of Your Excellency, the declaration of His Excellency Mr. Hull, and this reply."

## HAITI

*Statement by the Haitian Government Handed to the American Chargé in Haiti*

[Translation]

"The Haitian Government has noted with greatest interest the declaration made to the American press on July 16, 1937, by His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull with regard to the position which the American Government proposes to take with regard to present international problems.

"Some of these problems possess an exceptionally serious character and constitute a menace to world peace.

"The Haitian Government believes firmly that a pacific and satisfactory solution can only be hoped for if the interested Governments adopt on the political side as their rule of conduct principles based on the respect for the rights of all peoples, large and small, and on the economic side to put forth a resolute effort toward international cooperation.

"By the declaration made by the Honorable Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, the American Government has publicly confirmed its adhesion to these principles and has envisaged the adoption of them by other governments. These principles, moreover, have been proclaimed at the International Conference for the Maintenance of Peace held at Buenos Aires, and have been consecrated in the treaties, conventions, and resolutions adopted at that Conference.

"The Haitian Government believes that the Honorable Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, by making public in his declaration of July 16 the attitude of his Government with regard to international problems—an attitude which in all of the points conforms to the highest principles of international morality—has rendered an eminent service to the cause of peace.

"The Haitian Government declares that it entirely approves the principles proclaimed by the Honorable Secretary of State Hull, gives them its fullest adhesion, and is disposed in case of need to lend them every possible support."

## HONDURAS

### *Note From the Honduran Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé in Honduras*

[Translation]

"The Honduran Government has studied the declarations of His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull with all the attention which their importance demands and, with the greatest pleasure, stipulates its adherence to the principles which are consecrated in them, which constitute at present a standard of international life of the countries of America.

"Without forgetting the relativity of the resources of the population, capital, industrial progress, and sources of natural wealth, which facilitate and favor the conduct of international interdependence, Honduras has maintained at all times the principles of the Right of Peoples (*Derecho de Gentes*) and has consecrated in the fullest manner her unrestricted tribute of respect for treaties and for arbitration decisions under the guaranty of international good faith and of respect for contractual obligations.

"Obvious proof of the strong desire of Honduras for international concord is found in the ratification, without reservations on her part, of treaties of peace and antiwar during the period of time which was initiated with the Treaty of Paris (Kellogg-Briand Pact of August 28 [27], 1928) and was ended with the treaties, protocols, and conventions of Buenos Aires in 1936.

"Honduras has concurred with great pleasure in the idea of the suppression of customs barriers and the equality of tariffs for the efficacious development of commerce between nations without more limitations than those which arise obligatorily from immediate national necessities and from the character of her own capacities within the structure of her integral nature, population, and institutions. And in this manner she accepts, in its own and logical meaning, the concept of equality of opportunities, to which with reason all countries hold in their international relations.

"Granting the most important concurrence with the points with respect to which the declarations of the Secretary of State of the United States of America constitute a spontaneous restriction of the policy of his country and a most effective getting together by understanding among nations, the Honduran Government takes the opportunity to make, finally, the frank declaration that in her relations with other nations her policy is, without vacillations, inspired by the principles of mutual support and equable reciprocity, the only effective manner of cooperation which facilitates for each country the international development of its own energies and capacities.

"I beg Your Honor to bring to the attention of His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull, American Secretary of State, the enthusiastic adherence of the Honduran Government to his statement of principles on last July 16."

## HUNGARY

*"Note Verbale" From the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé in Hungary*

"The Royal Hungarian Government is glad to note that the Government of the United States—starting from the correct standpoint, *id est*, that tensions and disquieting symptoms appearing in any part of the world necessarily affect the interests of all the other countries—shows an interest in the political and economic problems of distant regions and therefore also in those of the Danube basin.

"The Hungarian Government notes with appreciation and approval those principles which Secretary of State Hull for the sake of preserving world peace deemed necessary to enunciate in this statement and to bring the same to the knowledge of public opinion

throughout the world, and the more so since the Hungarian Government recognizes in several instances the principles of its own policy. For this very reason the Royal Hungarian Government is pleased to fulfill the request for its reactions concerning the principles involved. It goes without saying, however, that it considers these principles primarily from the point of view of the peculiar problems of Hungary and of the Danube valley in which Hungary politically and economically is eminently interested.

"According to the statement it is believed desirable that problems arising in international relations should be solved by peaceful negotiation and agreements and it is emphasized at the same time that the principle of the sanctity of agreements does not exclude, should the need therefor arise, the modification of certain treaty provisions.

"The Hungarian Government has nothing to add to this desideratum, the Hungarian Government has never made it a secret that it does not consider as final the situation created in the Danube valley by the peace treaties and that it is aiming at the just and equitable change thereof. It has never failed, however, to emphasize that it intends to carry out its aim exclusively by peaceful means and by what appears to the Hungarian Government unavoidable peaceful evolution, and by having recourse to the means expressly guaranteed in Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

"Another paragraph advocates the sanctity of treaties and the observance of international agreements. This principle the Hungarian Government accepts in its entirety, the more so because it has never given in this respect reason for complaint, which can be proven by the fact that it has always respected and carried out even those heavy obligations which it was forced to accept in the treaty of Trianon. The Hungarian Government in stating this with the calmest conscience regrets to state on the other hand that those states which benefitted by the treaty of Trianon did not take the same standpoint and repeatedly disregarded such treaty agreements as were exceptionally disadvantageous to them. It is a well known fact that the states in question did not respect from the beginning those international agreements by which they were called upon to insure the rights of the Hungarian minorities living in former Hungarian territories turned over to them by the treaty of Trianon.

"The very same states consecutively sabotaged and even sabotage today the few provisions of the treaty of Trianon which are favorable to Hungary as for instance Article 250 which was intended to protect by means of courts of arbitration the material interests of Hungarian citizens in the territory of the succession states.

"As concerns the necessity for the restriction of armaments and the necessity for disarmament the Hungarian Government wishes to

emphasize that—as it must be known to the Government of the United States—the one-sidedly disarmed Hungary has tried sincerely ever since the close of the World War to promote also on its part the practical carrying out of the promises contained in the peace treaties and the Covenant of the League of Nations concerning general disarmament, and quite certainly Hungary cannot be blamed for the fruitless efforts spent in that direction by the Disarmament Conference.

“Hungary until now has not followed the example of Germany and Austria which states as is known have unilaterally declared null and void those provisions of the peace treaties which restricted—visualizing a general disarmament—their armaments. Hungary not wishing to expose the already overheated international atmosphere to another test, has refrained until now from such unilateral moves, although it cannot be disputed that it has regained its free hand in this field partly on account of the fiasco of the Disarmament Conference and partly on account of the grand scale rearming in the whole world—especially in the Little Entente states surrounding Hungary, in strong opposition to the text and spirit of Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations—and could rightly claim military equality on legal as well as on moral principles.

“As concerns the economic aspects of the statement the Hungarian Government declares that on its part it will support with the greatest willingness all efforts for the improvement of the economic situation of the world either by the gradual elimination of the restrictions of international trade or by the enforcement of any other suitable means.”

## IRAN

*Statement of the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran Handed to the American Chargé in Iran*

[Translation]

“The Imperial Government of Iran is in principle in agreement with the declaration of the Secretary of State of the United States.

“Being convinced that in view of the present political situation of the world, it would appear to localize a war if it should break out in any part of the globe, the Government of His Imperial Majesty has alined itself with the most ardent partisans of universal peace. It has always maintained absolute identity between this principle and its policy in general. Moreover, it has never failed to have recourse to pacific means to settle its differences with other states, and by following this line of conduct it has in a friendly way resolved its frontier disputes with Afghanistan, Turkey, and Iraq.

"The signing of the Saadabad Pact, for which the initiative came from the Imperial Government, is one of the most striking proofs of its unshakable desire to keep the peace, and it has the firm hope not only of safeguarding peace in Western Asia but also of becoming a more or less important factor in the maintenance of peace in general."

## IRAQ

### *Personal Comment of the Iraq Minister for Foreign Affairs Handed to the American Chargé in Iraq*

"I have read with the greatest interest the statement of July 16th last issued by the Secretary of State, the Honorable Cordell Hull.

"The principles set forth in that statement, if accepted and applied by all the nations of the world, would not only lead to the maintenance of peace and friendly cooperation but would also help to create an atmosphere of confidence which is essential for maintaining the spirit of international justice and mutual helpfulness among the nations of the world.

"As regards the idea, which we duly respect, of avoiding alliances and commitments warranted by the special circumstances of the United States of America, the fact that Iraq has entered into alliances with its sister Arab countries and other neighboring states was actuated by a sincere desire on its part to serve the cause of peace in the Middle East in particular and in the whole world in general."

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### *Statement by the Royal Government of Iraq Handed to the American Chargé in Iraq*

[Translation]

"The Royal Government of Iraq has seen the statement of 16th July issued by the Honorable Cordell Hull and has given due attention and consideration to the principles and views set forth therein for the maintenance of the peace of the world and service to humanity at large. The Royal Government is in full accord with the preamble of Mr. Cordell Hull's statement that universal peace is a right to be enjoyed by all the nations of the world and that regional disturbances or frictions wherever they may take place will inevitably lead to economic and political difficulties which will have far reaching effects on the nations of the whole world. As such, the consideration given by the United States of America and other states, although far from the centers of friction whether in the east or west, must be met with appreciation and gratitude. The Royal Government of Iraq fully supports the appeal made to the nations of the world for the maintenance of universal peace by all legitimate means and advocates the principle of abstinence from use of force in the

pursuit of any policy whatsoever, by which principle it was actuated when it acceded to the Briand Kellogg Pact for the renunciation of war. It has likewise adhered at all times to the principle of settling international disputes by peaceful processes and advocates faithful and strict observance of international agreements. It only believes in the modification of such agreements when it is done in the spirit of mutual consent and collaboration. It also believes in respect for international law and stands for its strengthening. It recognizes the principle of equality among all nations and advocates the necessity for the reduction of armament and ending the armament race which stands as an obstacle in the way of economic progress and general prosperity and jeopardizes confidence and cooperation between the nations.

"As regards the avoidance of entering into alliances the Royal Government appreciates the views of the United States whose position is peculiar in this matter. As for Iraq, it has already concluded a treaty of alliance with the Arab states and with other oriental neighbors, its motive always being the maintenance of friendly relations between neighboring states and serving the cause of universal peace in support of the general principles and aims alluded to above."

### IRISH FREE STATE

*Note Received by the American Chargé in the Irish Free State, Sent by Direction of the President, Minister for External Affairs of the Irish Free State*

"The Government of Saorstát Éireann is heartily in agreement with the principles set forth by the Secretary of State in his statement of July 16 on the subject of international relations. We feel, however, that even the general acceptance of these principles is not sufficient. The good will of the nations to put them into practice is essential. Before this can be hoped for existing injustices which frustrate every effort toward effective international understanding must be removed. Only on such a basis can there be secured that active international cooperation which is needed for the solution of the problems to which the Secretary of State refers."

### ITALY

*Oral Statement of the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador to Italy*

"The Fascist Government appreciates at their high value the principles enunciated by Secretary of State Hull in his declaration of July 16, last. The Fascist Government has repeatedly and publicly

proclaimed what are the fundamental principles of its policy and the Duce has recently reconfirmed them in the interview which he granted the American publisher Simms. The Fascist Government favors everything which may conduce to the pacification and to the political and economic reconstruction of the world. Therefore it regards with sympathy every initiative which tends to achieve that end by means of the limitation of armaments, by means of economic understanding among nations, nonintervention in the internal affairs of other countries and any other means which may now or in the future appear responsive to this objective."

## JAPAN

*Statement by the Japanese Government Handed to the Secretary of State by the Japanese Ambassador*

"The Japanese Government wishes to express its concurrence with the principles contained in the statement made by Secretary of State Hull on the 16th instant concerning the maintenance of world peace. It is the belief of the Japanese Government that the objectives of those principles will only be attained, in their application to the Far Eastern situation, by a full recognition and practical consideration of the actual particular circumstances of that region."

## LATVIA

*Statement Handed by the Latvian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé in Latvia*

"The Latvian Minister for Foreign Affairs takes note with satisfaction of the observations which the Secretary of State, the Honorable Cordell Hull, made in his statement to the press on July 16, 1937.

"In the first place Mr. Munters as representative of a member state of the League of Nations desires to mark his full accord with the principle of the interdependence of states and of international events, both of political and economic character. Hence, in his view, results the imperative necessity of international collaboration for the purpose of maintaining peace and promoting economic security and stability. He would like to interpret the expression 'cooperative effort by peaceful and practicable means' used in Mr. Hull's statement in the widest possible sense implying definite and effective action.

"The Latvian Government believe that many, if not all of the principles featured in the statement under consideration are embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations to which they are pledged and the provisions of which they always have faithfully observed and shall continue to do so in the future. In this respect it would be of extreme importance to secure in the absence of uni-

versal acceptance of the Covenant the greatest possible measure of cooperation between the League and such countries as do not belong to that organization or which have ceased to be its members.

"In the feeling of the Latvian Minister for Foreign Affairs a marked success would be achieved if all countries would unequivocally recognize the principles set forth in the statement, more particularly those of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations, sanctity of treaties and faithful observance of international agreements, as well as respect of rights of others and performance of established obligations.

"Besides their participation in the work of the League of Nations, the Latvian Government have given expression to their pacific policy through the conclusion of a treaty of collaboration with Estonia and Lithuania and through their unsparing efforts towards developing friendly relations with all the other countries, forming the geographical region to which Latvia belongs."

## LIBERIA

*Communication From the Liberian Secretary of State to the American Minister to Liberia*

"The Government of Liberia has noted with satisfaction the statement made on July 16th by the Secretary of State of the United States of America with respect to disturbed conditions in various parts of the world and the attitude of the Government of the United States with regard to the international problems arising thereout.

"The Liberian Government has consistently been devoted to the ideal of world peace as the basis of international security and the condition of stability in international relations.

"The statement of the Secretary of State merits cordial acceptance in all parts of the world as the foundation of that international co-operation without which the present uncertainties, inequalities and injustices cannot be made to disappear.

"This Government, whilst associating itself with the principles enunciated by Mr. Secretary Hull, indulges the hope that the declaration thus made by the Government of the United States of America will tend to stimulate the international will to peace."

## LITHUANIA

*Statement of the Lithuanian Minister for Foreign Affairs Handed to the American Chargé in Lithuania*

[Translation]

"The Lithuanian Government can only congratulate His Excellency the Secretary of State of the United States of America on his declaration. It is convinced that renunciation of the use of force

in pursuit of policy, strict adherence to treaties, and solution of international problems by peaceful negotiations and reciprocal agreements can save the international community from conflicts and assure it peace, security as well as the application of the principles of right in international relations.

"The Lithuanian Government is of the opinion that the surest way to the realization of the principles set forth in the statement insofar as it concerns the members of the League of Nations is through that organization itself, of which Lithuania is a loyal member. Further, the collaboration of that organization with nonmember states would be of signal importance.

"May it be recalled on this occasion what Mr. Lozoraitis, Lithuanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, stated on July 2, 1936, during a plenary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations: 'Lithuania has never wavered in its faith or hope in the Geneva organization, particularly because its weakness, due to which my country has suffered so much, with time would be strengthened, its administration improved, and made complete in effect, free in its competence for the settlement of international disputes and especially effective in obviating violations of treaties or obligations undertaken.'

"Lithuania would welcome all efforts tending to increase the guaranties of peace and right."

## LITTLE ENTENTE

### *Statement of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente*

[Translation]

"The Permanent Council has been happy to note that by the official declarations which Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, made July sixteenth, the United States has made a new and valuable contribution to the cause of peace and of international cooperation.

"The policy of the states of the Little Entente having always been inspired by the principles which the Government of the United States has just proclaimed in such a precious and sincere manner, the Permanent Council welcomes all the more favorably the declarations of Mr. Hull, which envisage the possibility of a new cooperation in the political as well as in the economic field between the European states and the great republic beyond the Atlantic."

## LUXEMBURG

### *Statement of the Luxembourg Foreign Office to the American Chargé in Luxembourg*

"Grand Ducal Government approves the generous ideas expressed by the Secretary of State in his declaration of July 16th."

## MEXICO

*Statement by the President of Mexico Handed to the American Chargé in Mexico*

[Translation]

"The statement of the Honorable Secretary Hull abounds in affirmations which Mexico has traditionally upheld.

"Undoubtedly the outbreak of hostilities between any nations whatsoever affects directly or indirectly the whole of humanity. Therefore no effort should be spared to avert armed conflict.

"Mexico has always maintained that disputes should be settled by peaceful means.

"Mexico considers that respect for the sovereignty of states is an indispensable condition for the preservation of peace.

"Mexico has advocated non-intervention in the foreign and domestic affairs of other countries and has zealously observed the obligations of international friendship undertaken with other states.

"Mexico deems a reduction in armaments expedient as a necessary step in the attainment of complete disarmament.

"Mexico is convinced that the problems which disturb or threaten to disturb the peace of the world can be solved only by a spirit of sincere collaboration among all nations based on mutual respect and international justice.

"Therefore Mexico applauds the attitude taken by the head of the Department of State of the United States of America and offers her active collaboration."

## NETHERLANDS

*Note Handed by the Netherlands Premier and Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister to the Netherlands*

"The Prime Minister has taken cognizance with great interest of Mr. Hull's statement of July 16. Dr. Colijn is much impressed by the happy wording of this vademecum of whoever means well with the future of the human race, and there is not one point contained therein which is not an element of traditional Netherlands policy. The statement seems particularly valuable because it neither sides exclusively with vested interests nor with justifiable aspirations, striking as it does a happy medium between the respect due to established rights and the heed to be paid by any statesman worthy of that high name, to new forces in the international field. Mr. Hull has put before the world a number of momentous questions

of an urgent nature of which perhaps that of disarmament with its manifold implications in the field of economics as well as of politics seems the most pressing. Dr. Colijn is also deeply convinced that international organization as it exists today cannot remain unamended for long without gravely imperilling the future and he feels sure that the Netherlands will at all times be ready and happy to contribute actively towards improving international institutions. His hope lies in the ability of those vested with authority to implement the principles contained in Mr. Hull's statement in order to obtain practical results and he will be glad to cooperate actively to that end."

## NEW ZEALAND

*Communication From the New Zealand Prime Minister, Through the New Zealand Foreign Office, to the American Consul at Wellington*

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th July and to thank you for the text of the statement made by the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States, on July 16, 1937, which I have perused with great interest and sympathy.

"I shall be grateful if you will convey to the Secretary of State my acknowledgments of his courtesy and advise him that His Majesty's Government in New Zealand warmly approve the views that the Secretary of State has expressed and will be most happy to avail themselves of any opportunity of supporting and implementing the principles he has enunciated."

## NICARAGUA

*Statement by the Nicaraguan Minister for Foreign Affairs*

[Translation]

### "COMMENTARY AND ADHERENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA

"The statement of the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, made public to the people of Nicaragua on this occasion is considered by the Government of Nicaragua as of enormous importance and is received with the greatest approval.

"Effectually, the growth of the world's population, the incorporation in autonomous life and civilization of large territories, technical progress which has increased agricultural and industrial production, the extensive development of means of transport which have intensified commercial and economic relations, etc., have created a situation of interdependence by virtue of which disturb-

ances which occur in any part of the globe affect, in greater or less degree, the rights, obligations, or at least the interests of all nations, whether they be great or small.

"It is therefore natural that those who feel themselves injured, without fault of theirs, through any local or international action which takes place in any part of the world, should seek to obtain the universal rule of those principles of policy or of law which they consider most adequate for the maintenance of peace.

"The statement of principles which has just been made by the Government of the United States through the medium of the Secretary of State constitutes, for the American countries, a true decalogue which has its roots deep in the enlightened reasoning of the leaders of independence, parting from Washington's Farewell Address and the admonitions of Bolivar, and which have been gradually elaborated in documents put forth by the pan-American assemblies from the Congress of Panama of 1826 down to that of Buenos Aires the year past, as well as in bilateral or multilateral acts entered into by various American nations. These principles are equal sovereignty, the peaceful solution of controversies, renunciation of war—above all of aggression or conquest—compliance with international obligations, the sanctity of treaties, codification of law, and the principle of nonintervention. (This latter since the Congress of Lima of 1848.)

"The statement of the Secretary of State adds the reduction of armament, the reduction or removal of barriers to international commerce, and the principle of equality of treatment. It is obvious that the armament race maintains and aggravates what might be called the atmosphere of war, and it is also certain that there cannot be peace while there is no effective economic disarmament and while irritating and alienating privileges are granted in commercial competition.

"These principles are incorporated in the conventions, declarations, and resolutions approved at the seventh Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace. But although all the Governments of America are ratifying them, the Government of Nicaragua considers of the greatest utility the American statement on which I am making comment, because it reveals the bases of a practical policy truly inspired in the principles mentioned.

"Under the influence of doctrines so beneficent, all the American peoples and the entire world have been enabled to contemplate the spectacle which is truly moving, and auspicious of the greatest efficacy for the American system, of a great world power such as the United States putting into practical effect, as regards the weak peoples, the redressing and just policy of the good neighbor.

"The statement of the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, signifies, in my way of thinking, the conviction that only through adherence to the practice of such principles by all the nations of the world can the maintenance of peace be secured in a firm and permanent manner. This conviction, which the Government of Nicaragua fully agrees with, would seem today to be eloquently demonstrated by the fact that systems of politics prevailing in other sections of the globe, which contravene or differ from some or all of these principles, have led to the serious disturbances which now afflict the world and threats of still greater ones.

"The Government of Nicaragua, which has approved without reservations all pacifist instruments elaborated during nearly half a century, expresses in the same manner its adherence without reservations to the statement of principles made by the United States of America, through medium of Secretary of State Hull, on July 16 of the current year.

"Especially, it considers of the greatest importance for practical international cooperation, to increase the spirit of mutual confidence and for the rule of justice in international relations, the principle which admits of the modification of treaties, when the necessity is presented for doing so, by means of orderly processes conducted in a spirit of reciprocal helpfulness and accommodation.

"Thus the Americas, filled with gratification and faith, contemplate the practical application of this principle in the contractual relations of the United States with the Republic of Panama deriving from the construction of the interoceanic canal.

"As regards economic disarmament, already at Montevideo and Buenos Aires Nicaragua approved the liberal policy enunciated by the Secretary of State, with the sole reservation, in respect to the principle of equality of treatment, of the advantages which the Central American states have granted or may reciprocally grant to each other by virtue of their special conditions.

"And precisely in point, invoking the principles of commercial policy embraced in the splendid initiative of the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull—which were approved by all the American states, with one or another regrettable exception, in the assemblies mentioned—Nicaragua has requested of the Central American states, in the projects of commercial treaties submitted to their consideration, the cessation of the tariff war which is being waged against her and the supremacy of the principle of equality of treatment in inter-Central American relations, since she considers that as long as the most complete economic disarmament is not brought to pass in Central America, and even as long as a real tariff union is not created, not only the Central American states cannot prosper economically

through the development of their special capabilities, but also it will not be possible to establish the peace of the Isthmus, mutual confidence, and the spirit of solidarity to which a common destiny and the unquestionable unity of their geography invites them."

## NORWAY

*Comment of the Norwegian Minister for Foreign Affairs by Letter to the American Minister to Norway*

Foreign Minister Koht stated that he had found nothing in Secretary Hull's statement which is not in accordance with the policy of the Norwegian Government since his Government had, Mr. Koht thinks, been very active in promoting the views expressed by Secretary Hull. He added:

"I think that Secretary Hull has stated in an admirable way the principles of justice and peace that ought to govern international relations and it would mean a great advance toward universal peace if he might be able to unite all the governments of the world, in particular those of the great powers, in an earnest effort for carrying those principles into execution."

## PANAMA

*Note From the Panamanian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé in Panama*

[Translation]

"I take pleasure in referring again to your memorandum, dated the twenty-fourth of July, last past, of which I acknowledged receipt by *note verbale* of the thirtieth of the same month.

"This Ministry has followed with positive interest the definite attitude which the Department of State of the United States of America has maintained during the grave events which are at present disturbing the world, because of serious disorders occurring in various countries, and which, in addition to the places where they are developing, affect other nations and proportionally injure their rights and interests while threatening the peace of the world.

"The Republic of Panama, in an official document of the sixth of April of the present year, stated that, for the very reason that full account is taken of the characteristic conditions of this country, it tries to be 'zealous in the fulfillment of its obligations and in the defense of its rights as an independent nation' and, consequently, 'it maintains a very clear international policy as regards its abstention from all intervention, in matters which may be considered of an internal nature, in those countries with which it maintains rela-

tions, and as a logical consequence, for its part, neither does it desire any intromission in its internal questions,' on account of which its Government sees with pleasure that, when in various parts of the world humanitarian sentiments of international concord become weakened, the Government of the United States assumes a noble, decidedly impartial attitude, and becomes a champion of peace, at the same time proclaiming its self-restriction and its own continence, national as well as international, and it advocates that all nations cease the use of force for political ends and interference in the internal affairs of the rest; and it also favors settlement of international problems by process of friendly negotiation and peaceful accord, fundamental bases of true international law, which must be built on mutual justice and respect, and on due fulfillment by all countries of their respective duties and obligations. This ample policy—of which His Excellency Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, has given undisputable proofs since the beginning of his administration—is a guaranty of stability and progress for all nations, especially for the small ones.

"Panama has always tried to fulfill its contractual obligations; and it considers, as His Excellency Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States of America, recommends, that public treaties must be faithfully executed, without this implying that, when there is justification for modifying them, they may not be adapted—by friendly negotiations—to the new conditions which are thus demanded, in the sense that a liberal interpretation of said treaties must prevail, in preference to the rigorous application of an obscure or anachronistic literal meaning; and that the contracting parties shall go on, inspired by a sincere desire for cordial cooperation.

"All the foregoing clearly explains the identification of the Republic of Panama with the transcendental declarations of the Honorable Secretary of State of the United States of America, to which reference has been made, and why it adheres thereto, as was stated in the aforementioned *note verbale*, since they constitute, furthermore, a positive hope that harmony may predominate at last in the international concert, especially among the republics of the American hemisphere.

"Panama, bearing in mind its exceptional geographic location, pledges itself to eliminate every obstacle which may hinder world commerce, animated by the aim of facilitating those commercial transactions as far as possible. Consequently, it must view with satisfaction the fact that the great republic of the north advocates 'the reduction or the total removal of excessive barriers to international commerce' and that it seeks 'effective equality of opportunity to trade', endeavoring earnestly that every nation 'apply the prin-

ciple of equality of treatment', in order to obtain economic and commercial equilibrium, secure fountains of peace and progress.

"Because of its size as well as its population, the Republic of Panama is not directly affected by the problems concerning exaggerated armaments, although it duly considers the dangers which immoderate excess of elements of war constitutes for universal peace; and it also takes into account the advantages which limitation and reduction of those armaments represent in benefit to universal fraternity. At the same time it understands the unavoidable necessity of certain powers, such as the United States of America, for maintaining means of defense appropriate to the necessary protection of national security, although they are ready—as this country has shown on several occasions—to make the required reductions, when the other nations do likewise.

"This explanation evidences the justified reasons that the Government of Panama sincerely supports the important declarations of His Excellency Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States, declarations favorable to cooperative effort, by pacific and practical means, which tend to carry forward and to make effective the transcendental ideals and principles which those statements involve."

## PARAGUAY

### *Statement by the Paraguayan Government Handed to the American Minister to Paraguay*

[Translation]

"In presence of the international tension that in different parts of the world jeopardizes the tranquility of peoples, it is fitting to make a reaffirmation of the principles and norms of peace and law on which repose the pacific neighborliness and the solidarity of Nations.

"Paraguay views, with the greatest interest, the necessity of upholding the faithful observance of such principles and norms of the pacific destiny of Nations, putting aside the use of violence as a means of obtaining ends of high internal or external policy.

"In such a sense, any policy tending to promote peace, security and justice for peoples, is worthy of the support of Paraguay and constitutes a proper objective of its pacific policy.

"The July 16 declarations of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Cordell Hull, affirm doctrines of peace and law which would promote international tranquility, and deserve, in consequence, the assistance of those bodies that defend the peace of Nations as an auspicious benefit to the human race."

## PERU

*Memorandum Handed by the Peruvian Foreign Office to the American Chargé in Peru*

[Translation]

"The Government of Peru has taken cognizance, with deep interest and sympathy, of the statement made by His Excellency the Secretary of State of the United States of America, concerning the general international situation and which constitutes an application to the present state of certain international problems of the principles and the spirit which recently have been shaping the action of the nations of this continent.

"In accordance with the international policy which it practices and develops, the Government of Peru agrees basically with the concepts of the Secretary of State and it is disposed to take part in every general movement tending towards the best application of this policy."

## POLAND

*"Aide-Mémoire" of the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs Handed to the American Ambassador to Poland*

[Translation]

"One. The Polish Government consider that it is not possible to separate economic from political problems, since confidence is no less important than gold reserves, and can be achieved mainly by good politics.

"Two. International confidence should be based on a general conviction that the present generation can be preserved from a world conflagration.

"Three. This conviction can be produced through the creation of the right peace policy which, in the opinion of the Polish Government, should be constructed from its foundations. As the principal foundation the Polish Government consider the development of good neighbor policy. It should be fostered with special care and any initiative in this respect should be able to count on proper encouragement from all elements wishing sincerely and in a practical manner for peace.

"Four. In considering more general political or economic agreements which form a superstructure of international peaceful cooperation it is necessary, in the opinion of the Polish Government, to bear in mind that the more states are included the more general should be the principles of agreement. Experience has shown that even between two partners it is not always easy to find the right settlement of some problem.

"Five. Under present circumstances it seems that the evolution of confidence in international life could best be attained if each partner, without regard for the number of inhabitants or square miles of his territory, should have the conviction that his right to decide his own fate and to regulate his life according to the governing features and character of his country would be respected by others.

"Six. The Polish Government consider that, in spite of present difficulties, there still exists the possibility of reconstructing international cooperation on the basis of these principles. They believe, however, that there continues the danger of a division of countries into hostile camps, whether according to their political doctrines, or because of too narrow a conception of the interests of each particular country or of groups of countries or finally as a result of too limited a view of the community of economic interests among nations.

"Seven. The Polish Government consider that in the present transitory period an apparently more modest, yet more practical, solution will contribute in a larger degree toward calming the general state of minds than complicated systems which are the result of speculation rather than the consequence of a sense of reality.

"This calming of the state of minds and the directing of the effort of each nation toward creative work could produce, in the opinion of the Polish Government, the most essential condition for the checking of the international race of armaments. The latter may cause in some cases a temporary improvement in economic conditions; in the long run, however, they are bound to lead to shocks both political and economic.

"Eight. In view of what has been said above, the Polish Government sincerely welcome the utterances made by Secretary Cordell Hull on July 16, 1937. These utterances, as understood by Polish public opinion, well combine the ideal of striving for peace with the practical sense of finding the proper means in this connection."

## PORTUGAL

### *"Mémoire" of the Portuguese Government to the American Minister to Portugal*

[Translation]

"The Portuguese Government has given due consideration to the declaration of the Secretary of State dated July 16 and has examined carefully the reasons on which it is based and the spirit of the attitude taken by the United States as regards great international problems.

"It seems to this Government that it could hardly discuss the notion of solidarity between nations from which arose for the con-

science of the Secretary of State the duty of his declaration: the ties which bind together the various nations of the globe are becoming ever closer, so that no statesman can today maintain his country alien and aloof as to all the repercussions of the economic difficulties, of financial crises, of social disorder and of the breach of the peace. If this is so owing to the impossibility of localizing the evils, it is even much more so when the case is one of problems which by their very nature may be considered universal, and of difficulties afflicting all the peoples at the same time. The assertion which we are commenting upon will therefore elicit no surprise; surprising would be the mistaken egotism which would lead the great nations, on the one hand, to consider themselves immune and, on the other hand, to maintain themselves alien to all effective cooperation, truly useful in the international field.

"On general grounds, it also seems that no objection can be raised against the assertions, advices, or wishes as a whole, of the Secretary of State: everyone desires peace, everyone proclaims the sanctity of treaties and the faithful compliance therewith, everyone desires that there be less difficulties in international trade, and everyone wishes to have the burden of armaments removed or lightened. Difficulties begin only when it is sought to pass from the field of intentions into that of action, or, more concretely, what is to be done so that the events—in the development of which it is very difficult to establish individual or national responsibilities—will not contradict the good intentions.

"2. The repeated affirmation, especially on the part of the great powers, of the principles advocated by the Secretary of State, the intellectual or sentimental adhesion of many to the said principles, their inclusion in many treaties between nations or in a document of greater scope aiming at defining the rules of life common to all states, will have, we believe, the effect of a certain moral pressure, but will produce rather limited practical action. We would be mistaken if we were to expect important results therefrom.

"If there exists a danger or preoccupation of war, it is useless to attempt to have the states disarm or reduce the armaments; if there exist grave injustices in the solution of problems of international affairs and no peaceful method is seen to make them disappear, it is useless to dissuade the victims thereof to cause justice to be respected by force, if they have it; if the nations, by virtue of their own excesses or because they are exposed to the mistakes of others, must defend their economy and their financial balance and deem it necessary to do so by raising tariffs, devaluating currency, or prohibiting the entry of workers or foreign goods, they will do so, even though they should not seek in that policy their true and ultimate

interests and even though they should have taken at one time or another the solemn engagement to refrain from doing this.

"3. Our assertions in this respect cannot be suspected, for our constitutional doctrine and the practice of the Portuguese Government and of its administration are entirely in harmony with the wishes of the Secretary of State. *Portugal advocates arbitration as a means to solve international disputes* (Constitution, sole proviso to article 4). The Portuguese nation constitutes an independent state of which the sovereignty recognizes solely as limits, in the internal order, morals and the law; and in the international order, those limits arising out of conventions or treaties freely entered into, or out of the freely accepted law founded on customs ('direito consuetudinário'); *being committed to cooperate with other States in the preparation and adoption of solutions regarding peace among nations and the progress of humanity* (Constitution, article 4). Public opinion is the fundamental element of the policy and administration of the country (Constitution, article 22). The state shall regulate the relations of the national economy with that of the other countries, *in line with the principle of adequate cooperation* (Constitution, article 30). The economic systems of the colonies are established in harmony with the needs of their development, *with just reciprocity between them and neighboring countries . . .* (Colonial Act, article 35).

"On its side, the activities of the Government have been entirely in keeping with the constitutional principles of balance, morals, co-operation, just freedom, and competition. Most-favored-nation treatment is still today the main principle of our conventional system of trade, and the generalization thereof leads practically to the equality of all countries in the national market. Our tariffs are justly noted as to the modesty of customs duties and their clearness. We have no internal duties nor quotas ('contingentes') nor import permits harmful for external trade. Our currency has been stabilized years ago, and there are no restrictions on the purchase of money nor regulations hampering its exchange. Certain limitations regarding foreign labor in Portugal were introduced in the laws solely after they had been generalized elsewhere, and even so they are very moderate and do not hamper anyone's business—neither that of individuals nor that of companies. We fulfill loyally international agreements. Under the circumstances, we do not constitute a perturbing element and we consider ourselves to be a constructive factor as to peace and international order.

"4. If there is, thus, a concordance or at least a great similarity of principles which, on our part, have not in practice been denied or ignored, why are reservations expressed above as regards those principles when they are presented as an efficient system to solve the

present problems of international affairs and capable of avoiding a breach of the peace between the powers?

"We believe that one should not forget the difference between the juridical and political field and the sociological field, because one thing is *what is*, and another thing is what it is *ordered to be*, or what it is *wished to be*. International society has endeavored to solve its difficulties (as many states have done in their internal activity) by means of abstract formulae, declarations of principles, solemn assertions, many texts and treaties, and the uselessness, and at times even the grave inconvenience, of everything, or almost everything, has been seen. At least, everyone is entitled to believe that things would not have happened in a different or worse manner if there had been less law making.

"Although much responsibility seems to lie with the abstract and generalizing tendency of jurists, the causes for the failure must be found, in our opinion, in the following facts:

"(a) in the inexistent or insufficient study of the causes of world unrest;

"(b) in the excessive ambition to find a sole formula for the solution of grave international problems, applicable *urbi et orbi* and covering a whole which is manifestly superior to the intelligence of men and to their capacity of execution.

"After determining the causes and limiting the field of the questions, and after examining the problems one by one, or the groups of kindred subjects, we believe that it would be easier to define the attitude or line of conduct of each nation, and the great powers, having a greater weight of authority, wealth, and strength in the international concert, would certainly find their participation more efficient.

"5. The study and determination of the causes of the universal unrest or preoccupation to which the Secretary of State refers are indispensable, whether the case is one of intentional acts for which states are responsible and from which they should therefore abstain, or of phenomena of which the genesis or development is beyond the will and power of men who, in the latter case, would not be the authors but the victims thereof.

"Among the first-named, one stands foremost: The declaration of the Secretary of State did not omit it and endeavors to eliminate it, advising the abstention of interference in the internal affairs of the other countries. This interference is conducted principally in the form of revolutionary agitation, since an historical tragedy elevated an entire nation, poor and unhappy, to the high position of forerunner of the new social era and Messiah of the highest and most sacred doctrine.

"Unfortunately, as the soviet mysticism is followed also by an economy and political value, which many have deemed it convenient to have on their side, it happens that here and there the natural reactions against the invasion have disappeared and that the victims are today helping their executioners in their anxiety to demonstrate their innocence, as though the evil were a common and fatal epidemic disease, already entirely detached from its center of infection and from the technical, material, and moral assistance which continues to be provided in spite of promises or assurances given. Foreign intervention, although it is maintained effective, thus tends to lose its character in some countries, being merged in international aspirations against which strong nationalisms alone can triumph. Although we consider fatal for the purposes of peace the poisoning of relations among peoples owing to ideological differences and the formation of international groups by affinities of political thought, we find that the need for defense against alien interference and revolutionary elements organized in groups may lead to the formation of other such groups ('blocos'). Such a state of things will constitute another reason for anxiety.

"6. When it is sought to discover the causes, independent or outside of the will of the peoples and governments, which are at the bottom of today's problems, we find that all, or almost all, the evils from which nations suffer are attributed to the economic crisis of 1929.

"Intervention to attenuate or eliminate the effects of the crisis was strong in the national as well as in the international field; it was intense and useless. Remedies and disillusion, conventions, congresses, conferences, and laws came in succession, and finally the passing of time cured the crisis, for outside the general lines of the policy followed as regards gold by Great Britain and the United States, it may be said that, internationally, nothing was accomplished which improved the situation, and in the national sphere many measures were taken capable of producing adverse results. In the face of the crisis, national egotisms became insensible or hostile, and each one had to take care of himself, merely wishing that the measures taken by others would not constitute too great a burden for each one.

"The crisis, or at least the greater part of its outward signs, has passed, but the universal unrest has continued with the same acuteness, we believe. In the economic and social field, the lack of balance, disorder, and anxiety of the peoples are thus not issued from the economic crisis; they come from deeper regions; we feel inclined to assign them to the crisis of economic thought, that is, to the pollution of the fundamental principles of economic affairs.

"For those reasons the teachings of that recent past command us to be more modest, if we do not wish to be too daring. At the bottom humanity reacts against an antihuman economy in relation to the essence of which known remedies have proved to be clearly insufficient.

"7. Besides the economic crisis, the war of 1914 has been for many the great cause of the present evils. The extension of the fact cannot be denied, its repercussions are considerable, and its consequences are still strong in the spirit and the flesh of the peoples, for not only have the moral sufferings of the war been prolonged over many years, but it seems that the task of peace was not conducted so as to permit forgetfulness and reparation. However, many peoples took no part in the strife; others suffered but the attenuated reactions thereof; and others yet progressed and enriched themselves due to the catastrophe. In spite of this, the agitation, the preoccupations, the unrest are suffered by all, and even strongly by some of the peoples of the latter category. If the cause is still the war, it can only be through aspirations, ideas, and the collapse of moral factors originating therein and contaminating the entire humanity.

"There is clearly a lack of control in the ambitions of men; there is clearly a lack of proportion between them and the means now existing or which, under present circumstances, might be created for their fulfillment. If this lack of balance is not cured by a return to sentiments of modesty and economy or by a greater capacity of production and greater possibilities of consumption, what will happen to poor mankind?

"Now, at the same time that men desire a greater part of an already insufficient wealth, or threaten improvidently to consume treasures accumulated by centuries of work and economy, the uncertainty and nervousness of the international situation cause an ever-increasing portion of property to be withdrawn from the consumption of men for the benefit of armaments, deviating into that channel the natural flow of national riches and causing by this and other means the exhaustion of international credit through which rich countries, more progressive or better endowed, might assist in the economic development of others. Contrary to this, some accumulate useless gold, the weight of which depresses still further their own economy.

"We are placed in a vicious circle which it is necessary to break for the good of mankind; to find the point where such breaking is easiest is decidedly the problem of problems of our times.

"9. We dare but timidly advance on this path, full of obscurity, but some points are clear: Not all of the problems which face today the generality of the nations offer the same probabilities or risks

of being converted into proximate or remote causes of war. Political motives are always more to be feared than others, except when economic difficulties are brought to such a degree of acuteness that nations are condemned to live in misery because the possibilities of work and life are denied them in the world. On the other hand, it is certain that, in present circumstances, violent internal convulsions may bring about conflagrations difficult to localize.

"Now, in the political field, it is pertinent to ask whether the internationalism of our days is a factor of peace or of war. It seems to us that internationalism, covering as it does pronounced leanings toward national imperialisms, is a source of complications and dangers. The idea of the supernational organization and the tendency toward 'world citizenship' are either essentially erroneous and humanly impossible or are so far removed from present conditions that they can only act—even if the fact noted above did not exist—as perturbing elements.

"Furthermore, this would be creating new problems under the pretext of solving those existing, and, although at times relief is found in a change of worries, the safest path is that of the closest cooperation between the peoples, on the basis of the national organizations, if, as proposed in the declaration of the Secretary of State, the nations are endowed with the spirit of 'mutual assistance' and of absolute respect for the rights of others.

"10. In commenting at length on the note of the Secretary of State, the Portuguese Government did not intend to indicate solutions or the best way to find them. This would be an excessive presumption. However, the nations are attached to false ideas and have taken the habit of entrusting the solution of grave external problems to vague formulae and inconsistent combinations; and to acknowledge by means of an impartial examination the inanity of the efforts made in that direction appears to this Government to be the first step and the indispensable preparation of the ground for any constructive work."

## RUMANIA

*Note From the Rumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the  
American Minister to Rumania*

[Translation]

"You have been good enough to furnish me with the text of the declarations made to the press July 16, 1937, by Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States of America.

"In thanking you for this kind communication, I desire to express to you all the importance which the Rumanian Government attaches to these declarations which reflect so well the desire for international

peace and cooperation with which the American Government has always been inspired.

"The Rumanian Government has not ceased to conform its policy to the principles which Mr. Hull has wished to reaffirm with such force and clarity. Rumania was happy to adhere to the Pact of Paris of 1929 [1928] which condemned forever the use of force in international relations. Likewise Rumania has shown in every instance that she desired to conform to the rules of strict nonintervention in the internal affairs of other nations.

"No principle is dearer to Rumania than that of the sanctity of treaties—these can neither be submitted to discussion nor modified, without the free and formal consent of the interested states.

"Rumania is ready to join in every effort with a view to contribute to economic *rapprochement* between the states through the suppression or the reduction of the barriers to international commerce. Like the United States she is prepared to consider the reduction or the increase of her armed forces in proportion to the reductions or increases effected by other neutral countries."

## SIAM

*Statement From the Siamese Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé in Siam*

"With reference to the memorandum of the American Legation dated August 11, 1937, the Minister of Foreign Affairs wishes to assure the American Chargé d'Affaires of the great interest with which he has read the statement given to the press on July 16, 1937, by the Secretary of State of the United States.

"Luang Pradist Manudharm would recall that so far as Siam's relations with foreign powers are concerned, the main lines of policy he has set forth from time to time are marked by the same general tendencies as those indicated in the above mentioned statement.

"The said statement made as it is by a great lover of peace as is the United States of America, is assuredly calculated to promote world peace and friendly intercourse among nations, and this is certainly desired by Siam no less ardently than any other power."

## SPAIN

*Note From the Spanish Minister of State to the American Chargé in Spain*

[Translation]

"The Government of the Republic has examined with the greatest interest the statement of the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, whose appeal in favor of international peace meets with the most lively sympathy of the Spanish democracy.

"The Spanish Republic remains faithful to the principles written into its Constitution of 1931, by virtue of which 'Spain renounces war as an instrument of national policy', 'complies with the universal rules of international law', and incorporates into its laws the principles of the pact of the League of Nations.

"The Government of the Republic has never deviated from the course indicated by its Constitution, which permits it to point to a complete coincidence both in doctrine and in practice with the principles defended by Mr. Hull in his statement which, under present circumstances when the Spanish people are the victims of a foreign invasion and suffer the sorrow of a war in defense of their independence, has a singular importance and inspires a gratifying hope for the reestablishment of peace and law among the nations.

"The Spanish Government declares, in consequence, that it is disposed to collaborate in the common task of the organization of peace, in conformity with the terms indicated with such high authority by Mr. Hull."

### SWEDEN

#### *Memorandum From the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister to Sweden*

"Mr. Sandler has read with much interest Mr. Cordell Hull's statement of July 16th, 1937. On receiving the text of the statement from the American Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm, Mr. Sandler stressed its importance in view of both its contents and the time at which it was made. Reaffirming this statement Mr. Sandler desires to express his entire concurrence in the general principles set forth by Mr. Hull.

"Referring to Mr. Hull's concluding declaration concerning the avoidance of alliances or entangling commitments and belief in cooperative effort, Mr. Sandler wishes to make the following observations:

"(One) Mr. Sandler calls attention to the interest manifested by the Swedish Government in such a development of the practice of the League of Nations as to facilitate cooperation with non-member states. Mr. Sandler points to the fact that with this in view special interest is shown here in Article 10 of the Covenant of the League.

"(Two) Mr. Sandler wishes to state with reference to the problem of the reduction of armaments that although at the present moment circumstances do not offer much possibility of reduction or a limitation of armaments, it is urgent to continue the work in this field, devoting it first of all to the question of the supervision of the manufacture of and trade in arms. In this connection Mr. Sandler would recall the suggestions concerning national supervision of the manufacture of and trade in arms made by the Swedish representative at the meeting of the Bureau of the Conference for the reduction

and limitation of armaments at Geneva on May 31, 1937, as well as the idea of concluding a convention on the control of armaments limited to certain countries, referred to by the Swedish representative on the same occasion.

“(Three) With reference to the problem of economic security Mr. Sandler wishes to recall the recent agreement reached between the Oslo powers and the interest manifested by them in other states making efforts along the same lines. Mr. Sandler feels that any progress, however limited its immediate scope may be, attained by means of agreements between states likely to join in these efforts is of greater value than the convening of international conferences. Mr. Sandler would stress that decisive importance is attached here to the outcome of the Anglo-American negotiations concerning an agreement conceived in the spirit of the commercial treaties concluded by the United States in recent years.”

### SWITZERLAND

*“Aide-Mémoire” Handed by the President of the Swiss Confederation to the American Chargé in Switzerland*

[Translation]

“The Federal Council is able to subscribe on all points to the principles which the Secretary of State of the United States of America has enumerated in his statement of July 16, 1937, since these are the same principles which have inspired Switzerland for a long time past in its foreign relations, and the states with which Switzerland is in relation have applied these principles in their relations with the Swiss Federation. The practical realization of these principles is due to the fact that, on the one hand, the foreign policy of Switzerland is based on perpetual neutrality and, on the other, to the fact that Switzerland bases its international relations on mutual friendship and esteem without regard to the internal politics of the states with which Switzerland has dealings.

“By entering into the League of Nations and by signing the Kellogg Pact, Switzerland gave proof that it was prepared to do its part in international collaboration leading to a general realization of the principles referred to. Switzerland is able to continue this collaboration up to a point where its neutrality, which is recognized in international law and of which the value has been historically demonstrated, will not be weakened. It is conditional upon this consideration that Switzerland can adhere to the program put forward by Secretary Hull.”

## TURKEY

*Statement of the Turkish Foreign Minister Handed to the American Chargé in Turkey*

[Translation]

"The Minister for Foreign Affairs has noted with much interest the important declaration made by the Secretary of State of the United States of America, and warmly thanks the Government of the United States for having transmitted it to him.

"Acceding to the desire expressed by the distinguished author of the declaration, Dr. Aras is pleased to make known below the opinion of the Government of the Republic concerning the matter dealt with by His Excellency Mr. Hull.

"It should before all be observed that for the cause of peace and for international cooperation the method followed by the Secretary of State of the United States is a happy innovation, the usefulness of which will make itself felt in the evolution of international life.

"To define the attitude of his Government toward questions which disturb the world and to request of those who direct other countries, their views on the definitions thus afforded constitute in fact a method which cannot fail to produce the most salutary effects in facilitating mutual comprehension among all powers interested in finding a common formula for understanding and collaboration.

"The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey desires in this connection to address his most cordial congratulations to the eminent American statesman.

"Concerning the basic principles of the declaration, Dr. Aras hastens to recall that the words spoken under most varied circumstances, as well by the chief of state as by those who are responsible for directing Turkish policy, have found a constant confirmation in the acts accomplished by the Government of the Republic, and that these acts and these words have always accorded with the sense of the American declaration of July 16 last. This similarity of views permits Dr. Aras, in replying to the Secretary of State of the United States of America, to inform him that his declaration corresponds to the views of the Government of the Republic and when taken as a whole expresses the principle which is the basis for the foreign policy of Kemalist Turkey, both as regards its conception and its application."

## UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

*Statement by the South African Premier and Minister of External Affairs to the American Chargé in the Union of South Africa*

"The statement of foreign policy by Mr. Cordell Hull in every respect conforms with the views held and policy adopted from time to time by the Government of the Union, for the purpose of defining its own attitude towards other states and indicating the principles of conduct which it expects to be observed by them in their dealings with the Union.

"I, therefore, heartily approve of the statement of policy by the Secretary of State, so far as the Union is concerned under present circumstances.

"I say: *under present circumstances*, for I cannot help feeling that if the Union had been in the position of a state laboring under wrongs confirmed or perpetuated by agreement at the point of the bayonet, such agreement could have little claim to any degree of sanctity; and certainly to none when the agreement had been obtained in a manner violating the established usage of war, or contrary to the dictates of international conscience. Before such an agreement can be accepted as enjoying the *principle of the sanctity of treaties* there should, it seems to me, first be an equitable measure of redress purifying it of the excesses resulting therefrom. In other words, a revision of the provisions of such an agreement could well be insisted upon by the state wronged prior to its approval of the *principle of the sanctity of treaties*.

"If this view is correct, Mr. Hull's advocacy of *faithful observance of international agreements* would require qualification of a restrictive nature."

## UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

*Statement Handed by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

[Translation]

"Mr. Litvinov requests that his thanks be transmitted to Mr. Hull for the kind communication to him of the statement made by Mr. Hull to the press, a statement, the significance of which does not escape his attention. He was the more interested in acquainting himself with the statement of Mr. Hull in view of the fact that it is in accord with the general position of the Soviet Government with respect to the questions therein touched upon. There is no doubt that tension, conflicts, and frictions in international relations,

and particularly menaces of hostile clashes, even though at first affecting only two or a few powers, are likely eventually to affect the rights and interests of all nations. This view has found expression in the principles of indivisibility of peace and of collective security advanced by Mr. Litvinov at the League of Nations.

“Mr. Litvinov shares the other views contained in the statement of Mr. Hull, which are in harmony with the principles which the Soviet Government is not only propagating but also carrying out in its foreign policy, principles such as the abstinence of all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations, the adjustment of international problems exclusively by processes of peaceful negotiations and agreements, the faithful observance of international agreements, the modification of the conditions of treaties only by amicable agreements of the interested powers, the equality of all nations, the reduction of armaments, and so forth. In particular the Soviet Government presented at Geneva as far back as 10 years ago a plan for complete general disarmament and also for a partial reduction in armaments. Furthermore the Soviet Government, again at Geneva, presented a proposal for the organization of a permanent peace conference within the framework of which the cooperative efforts mentioned in Mr. Hull’s statement could be exerted. In practice, the present international situation, full of threats to general peace, arising now in one, now in another continent, demand, in the opinion of Mr. Litvinov the most energetic counteractivity on the part of all nations. This counteractivity, in addition to an activation of the League of Nations may take different forms, as for example, regional pacts of mutual assistance and other accords. Considerable significance among the number of these forms is ascribed by Mr. Litvinov to simultaneous and periodical manifestations of solidarity and a will to peace on the part of all the nations sincerely devoted to the idea of preserving peace. Mr. Litvinov is sure that the Soviet Government will always be ready to take part in such manifestations and to contribute its bit to the common cause of international pacification.”

## URUGUAY

### *Note From the Uruguayan Minister for Foreign Relations to the American Minister to Uruguay*

[Translation]

“The Minister of Foreign Relations takes pleasure in acknowledging the receipt from His Excellency the Minister of the United States of America of the Memorandum dated the 23d of the current month, in which he informed him of the receipt of telegraphic in-

structions from His Excellency the Secretary of State of the United States of America in regard to his statement formulated the 16th of the current month with respect to the position of his Government in regard to the disturbed conditions which exist in various parts of the world.

"The Minister of Foreign Relations has read with profound interest the noble declarations of the Secretary of State, which embody the identical generous spirit and the same ideals of pacification which he expressed in the memorable debates of the Inter-American Conference for the Consolidation of Peace celebrated at the end of the past year in the Argentine Capital.

"He notes with sincere satisfaction that the step which the Secretary of State has taken in transmitting his statement to the Uruguayan Chancellery is closely bound up with the principles which inspired the agreements signed in Buenos Aires, and by which it was desired to facilitate the methods of consultation with respect to international developments capable of disturbing the peace.

"In general, this Government is in complete agreement with the Government of the United States, as is proven by the fact that all of the Conventions formulated in the Conference for the Consolidation of Peace at Buenos Aires have already been presented here for ratification by parliament and should be ratified in a short time. And concretely, with respect to the application of the spirit of these treaties to the contingencies which arise, we are also in complete agreement, and applaud and share the statement of which Your Excellency informs me in the note to which I am replying.

"The Uruguayan Government considers it beneficial to reaffirm on all opportunities the postulates of international justice which form part of the American spirit of solidarity, for which reason it fully shares the elevated purposes of strengthening the principles approved in Buenos Aires for the consolidation of peace, since they contemplate making a common effort on behalf of world-wide pacification and serve to complete and strengthen the various efforts which are at present being made to prevent war.

"He therefore highly appreciates the courtesy of the Secretary of State in requesting his adhesion to the principles which he was good enough to express."

## VENEZUELA

*Note From the Venezuelan Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister to Venezuela*

[Translation]

"I have received the Legation's memorandum of the 26th instant by which Your Excellency communicates to my Government the statement made by His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull as to the principles on which the international policy of the United States is

inspired. Those principles are the same which have served and do serve as the standard for the international policy of Venezuela. Venezuela has affirmed its adherence to them by subscribing to all of the instruments of peace which have been formulated from the Congress of Panama in 1826 to the Conference of Buenos Aires in 1936; and, moreover, it has affirmed that adherence in practice by submitting all its international differences to the means of peaceful solution. Consequently, I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that my Government is in accord with the points of view expressed by His Excellency the Secretary of State of the United States in the aforementioned statement."

## YUGOSLAVIA

### *Declaration of the Yugoslav Government Handed to the American Chargé in Yugoslavia*

[Translation]

"The Yugoslav Government has noted with the greatest interest and sympathy the declaration which was made on the sixteenth of July, 1937, to the representatives of the press at Washington by Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States of America. This declaration represents an important reaffirmation of the policy of peace, of international collaboration and solidarity, of which the Government of the United States has always been one of the most fervent partisans and champions. Yugoslavia remains as in the past firmly attached to this same policy and to the principles of non-recourse to force, of nonintervention, of economic *rapprochement*, of the limitation and reduction of armaments. For itself, the respect of treaties and the scrupulous observation of international engagements, so long as they are not modified by the consent of the interested states, are the indispensable rules of international life. The Yugoslav Government desires sincerely and loyally the realization of the ideas of law, of peace, of collaboration, and of prosperity which are championed with such authority and brilliance in the declaration of the Secretary of State of the United States of America."











